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LITTLE ROCK

Battle of Little Rock tests Federal power

By Eugene Gordon

THE BATTLE for school integration came to a climax in Little Rock, Ark., last week and posed one of the most momentous questions since the Supreme Court decision of 1954: Can the Federal government use force to end defiance of a Federal order by a state governor? The answer would have serious bearing on the integration struggle throughout the South.

In chronological order, this is how the Battle of Little Rock took shape:

The U.S. Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, decreed that jimcrow public school education denied "the equal protection of laws." On May 31, 1955, it ruled that integration should proceed "with all deliberate speed." The Little Rock Board of Education drew up a plan for gradual integration: senior high schools, 1957; junior, 1960; elementary school, 1963. The Federal District Court approved this plan on Aug. 15, 1956. But 33 Negro complainants and the NAACP sued to speed up integration. A Court of Appeals last April ruled that the Little Rock plan met the Supreme Court requirements.

A PREDICTION OF BLOOD: On Aug. 29, 1957, the League of Central High Mothers petitioned the State Chancery Court to enjoin Negro students from attending that school. Gov. Orval Faubus was the principal witness. He predicted rioting and bloodshed if the city's plan was carried out. He said revolvers and knives had been found on white and Negro students and urged the court to enjoin the school board from proceeding further.

School Supt. Virgil Blossom, who had been conducting a patient campaign of education on integration, expressed surprise at the governor's testimony. Chancellor Murray O. Reed granted the injunction.

The school board then was confronted by both the year-old Federal Court order to start integration this month and the State Chancery Court order to stop all integration plans. On Aug. 30 it appealed to Federal Judge Ronald Davies,

(Continued on Page 5)

12 PAGES NEXT WEEK

Beginning with the issue of Sept. 23, the GUARDIAN will resume its regular 12-page size. It will be a good week to introduce your friends to our paper.

SAN FRANCISCO

SAN ANTONIO

COLORBLIND KIDS

In many places children never noticed the color of the hands they grasped on the way to school on opening day — but in Little Rock and elsewhere in the South, grownups drew a color line with guns, bombs, rocks and hate-filled faces.

BOSTON

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AMERICANS ISSUE STATEMENT IN PRAGUE

Sterns label Morros' story a fantasy

Special to the Guardian

PRAGUE

ALFRED AND MARTHA STERN last week denounced as "fantastic inventions," the accusations of espionage made against them by Boris Morros, who has described himself as a U.S. counter-spy.

The Sterns with their son Bobby came through Prague in the course of a European tour after spending four years in Mexico living under what they called "protective custody." In a long statement which they challenged the U.S. press to print in the spirit of "fair play," the Sterns defended their record as progressives since New Deal times.

Both have been active in numerous liberal causes. Mrs. Stern is the daughter of President Roosevelt's ambassador to Germany and is herself a widely-published author.

BUSINESS FAILURE: The Sterns disclosed that they knew Morros from 1943 to 1945, during which time Stern invested money in Morros' music company which failed. The Sterns charged that Morros' present accusations stem from motives of "revenge" as the result of actions taken by Stern's lawyers which recovered most

(Continued on Page 6)

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THE MAIL BAG

The I.C.B.M.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

I think the Russians would have been smarter if they kept their military secrets to themselves. With I.C.B.M. ballistic missile just announced they are undoing all the good that progressive peace lovers are trying to do. We have been trying to make the people see that as Hitler couldn't even cross the 23-mile English Channel because he had no navy, it is so ridiculous to think that Germany or any other power could have ever invaded America—America being defended by two oceans and the greatest navy in the world.

So now they bring about their I.C.B.M. which may be capable of doing a lot of damage—but even so no nation has the capability of invading the U.S. So why do the fools fan the flames of hysteria by all this talk about I.C.B.M.? Maybe they think the American people are without conscience or scruple and need something to put the fear of Hell in them.

R. Martel

"The FBI Story"

GLEN ELLEN, CALIF.

May I call your attention to a typographical error which occurred in the first of my series on Don Whitehead's **The FBI Story** (Sept. 2). The alien (Andrea Salsedo) who died in a fall from the Park Row building in New York during the Palmer Raids was not "a key witness in the Sacco-Vanzetti defense," as characterized in the printed article. Actually, Sacco and Vanzetti, before their own arrest, had been active in Salsedo's defense, after he was taken into custody by Justice Dept. agents.

Albert E. Kahn

More on the Crusade

MILL VALLEY, CALIF.

It was good to read some intelligent criticism of the Anna Louise Strong "Crusade" article —especially the clear and thoughtful comment of A. Unger (Aug. 26).

Of course Miss Strong is admirable—still so courageous and able with her mind and pen. However, it did seem odd to me that the GUARDIAN either did not notice or thought it not too important that in this particular piece she should discover that the "Crusade" should be for "existence" and against the BOMBS and relegate (in effect) socialism to something that had been settled at the time of the Paris Commune. I am sure that Miss Strong, who certainly doesn't have to prove her own objectivity, will be quick to realize that it is just in the Crusade for socialism that our future existence as people or as a planet can be determined—and with that, of course, the usage of atomic power and any other scientific unfolding.

But of course the GUARDIAN may well (and wisely) have realized that just such an article would draw the kind of comment that would help make us a thinking people. For we had better become a thinking people, quick.

Beth Myers

At a time when fresh ideas are sadly wanting, the GUARDIAN did indeed feel that such a thesis by a person as thoughtful and qualified as Miss Strong would provoke thoughts on the part of others. More power to a writer who is this effective. Editor.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

The importance of testing [nuclear weapons] is greater to the U.S. than to Russia, the official explained.

"Without testing, the will of our scientists to make weapons would dissipate and the will of Congress to appropriate funds would dissipate. In Russia they don't have such problems, and they could go ahead with laboratory developments not requiring tests."

U.S. official interviewed by Don Shannon, Los Angeles **Times** correspondent in Washington, 8/30.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Anonymous, Los Angeles, Calif.

Creative channels

BRIXAM, ENGLAND

I have just been reading **Man's New Crusade** by Anna Louise Strong (GUARDIAN, Aug. 5). I have a strong impression that there are a great many people who do not want the world to survive. Among them are those who hold the reins—Macmillan, Dulles, Eisenhower and the Russian magnates. In short, all the politicians who keep meeting for "peace" conferences. Such people are irreligious in the broadest sense of the word. If the world is to survive such types must be demoted, debunked and exposed. The world as it is is the product of man's aggressive and competitive instincts—which must be guided into creative instead of destructive channels. But how?

Rhoda Clarke

Painless childbirth

CHICAGO, ILL.

Anne Bauer's informative Paris Letter on painless childbirth (Aug. 12) is very misinformative in one point of omission. In English-speaking countries, at least, painless childbirth was a "clinical reality" well before 1950, and without benefit of Pavlov.

As GUARDIAN readers are entitled to know who do not already know it, painless childbirth under the better name of natural childbirth had been introduced by Dr. Grantly Dick Read. He in turn had observed that among primitive peoples, also without benefit of the "new theory on conditioned reflexes," it was the ordinary thing.

It is possible that Miss Bauer knew nothing of this. The same is not true of others who have written similarly, nor of other progressive periodicals which have declined to apprise their readers of the historical truth even after it has been brought to their attention.

To the U.S.S.R. is owed the example of the systematic universalization of painless, i.e., natural childbirth. It is still of course not the rule in the U.S. nor in most countries.

As for Pavlov, the greatness of his discoveries is sufficient without this kind of trumpery.

W. R.

Reader M.R. (and others who have written) are right in crediting Dr. Read for his pioneer work in natural childbirth. Editor.

Morse for President

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In Sept. 2 GUARDIAN, Loren O'Brien writes from Manton, Mich.: "Our only chance for progress . . . Democratic Party . . . Wayne Morse should be next Democratic candidate." Ain't it the truth now! I call that perspective and perception. Thoreau himself, who knew that perception was the **sine qua** of performance, would cry "Hear, hear!" Morse for President! And Loren O'Brien for something in Michigan.

Horace Casselberry

N.Y. Herald Tribune

"Don't get excited. There's no tar or nicotine. We use corn silk."

"Menace" of disarmament

CLEVELAND HGTS., OHIO

The undersigned is not a capitalist; in fact, he is nobody. Were he a capitalist and somebody, thus more concerned in the welfare of capital than in world peace, he would oppose proposals of disarmament. Disarmament would be a threat to wreck the economy of capital. It would release the great mass of people in the armed forces and the military industry. Unemployment would be great, but capital knows of no means to employ these people, as already according to their method there is an overproduction of goods which cannot be sold at a profit and must be destroyed or given away.

The spirit of the world is rebellious, the poor being aware that there is no excuse for poverty in a world of possible abundance, provided that abundance is distributed. Great unemployment would create unrest and rebellion. The masses would take control out of the hands of the few and establish a regime of their own. Democracy would replace autocracy. The cause would be disarmament. The capitalists cannot disarm. If the mass of the people do not conceive this, the capitalists do.

Joseph Manlet

REPORT TO READERS

Question of force

WHEN THE HISTORY OF THIS TIME is written, with a proper emphasis on the incursion of juvenile delinquency—and why—perhaps equal stress will be placed on adult delinquency and the heroism of many of our young people in the face of rotten example by their elders.

In Little Rock, Ark., on Monday, Sept. 3, a sweet-faced 15-year-old girl named Elizabeth Eckford, who wants to be a lawyer, got off a bus alone outside the Central High School and walked toward the gate. A mob was gathered on one side of the street. Armed and helmeted soldiers of the National Guard ringed the school building. They barred her way, told her to cross the street to the mob. Recalling that moment, she said later: "I got scared then for the first time. I . . . I . . . well, I went."

She had to go because her skin was dark, and because a gimcrack ex-liberal politician named Orval Faubus, elected to be Governor of Arkansas with the help of the votes of Negroes, sold out to the small core of angry hate which he thinks can get him more votes when he runs for reelection.

To this end he caused a national scandal rather than let Elizabeth and eight other bright Negro youngsters join 1,900 white students in Central High. Maybe he was a hero to the mob, but he was an object of contempt to most of the students—Negro and white. The white students expressed themselves with simple eloquence. They knew the law and they recognized the common sense of the law. Integration was inevitable; they had no stomach for violence. Maybe they were worried about Negro-white "dating" ("I don't know why. I was just brought up that way," said one), but they could work that out. One white boy, horrified by the sight of the mob as he left school, yelled his frustration: "Why don't you go home and leave us alone!" He said it for the majority.

ON SATURDAY, SEPT. 7, the scene shifted temporarily to Washington where the President met with two Cabinet members. With Atty. Gen. Brownell he discussed Little Rock and announced a wait-and-see policy on Federal action. He is on record as saying, during the debate on the civil rights bill, that he could foresee no situation which would require sending Federal troops into a state to uphold the guarantee of democracy to all citizens under the Constitution.

The question of Federal troops came up also at the President's second conference—with Secy. of State Dulles, on Syria. But this time there was little reluctance on the matter of dispatching Federal troops to uphold the principles of "democracy" thousands of miles away. The Secretary of State, in his customary role of international grave-digger, announced that the United States would use whatever power might be necessary to protect the pro-Western governments of the Middle East from the threat of "international communism" in Syria.

Thus, only hours after a new plea by the Soviet Union for talks on an arms embargo and a peaceful settlement of the dangerous situation in the Middle East, Washington (1) stepped up its shipment of arms to Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq and (2) served notice on Syria and all other nations in the Middle East that Fearless Foster and the oil companies will decide the form of government under which they will live, and who their friends shall be.

FOR OUR PART, we cannot conceive a situation where Federal troops need be sent across the seas to protect our way of profit against any people struggling for a chance to shape their own destiny. What comes to mind—and so aptly in the light of our own history—are the lines by James Russell Lowell, etched in the stone marking the grave of two British soldiers who died in the Battle of Concord Bridge in our own Revolution:

They came three thousand miles, and died,
To keep the Past upon its throne;
Unheard, beyond the ocean tide,
Their English mother made her moan.

Must her moan be taken up by her American sister? Or will we learn from our own Past?

—THE GUARDIAN

Real loyalty

ELSINORE, CALIF.

Our Republic, founded for a free people, could evolve, through collective ownership and faith in humanity, a loyalty which could be the nation's pride, and which would serve for national defense or for any emergency. Loyalty to whom? To the people as a whole, not to arrogant authority which demands submission and threatens penalties. **Harry F. Kane**

'THE FBI STORY'—III

Secret police of the Cold War

By Albert E. Kahn

(Last of a three-part review of The FBI Story, *by Don Whitehead, an "approved" history.)*

IN THE FBI STORY*, Don Whitehead relates that in the postwar period, the FBI "shouldered an increased burden in the security field," and that, while scrupulously "protecting civil rights," J. Edgar Hoover "literally went to war against the Communist Party" which was plotting "the violent overthrow of the United States government."

It was natural that during the repressive Cold War years a secret police agency like the FBI should flourish. With investigations of "Reds" and witchhunts rampant, Hoover became, in the words of an article in **Coronet**, "Master of the Hunt." There was no phase of national life into which his agents, **agents-provocateurs**, and paid informers failed to infiltrate. By 1948, according to Jan Hasbrouck writing in the **Nation**, the FBI chief was "one of the half-dozen most influential men in Washington." That, if anything, was an understatement. There was even talk of running Hoover for President.

IN A 1949 REPORT on the operations of the FBI, Atty. Gen. Tom Clark said the Bureau had under investigation more Americans than at any time during "the peak war years," or, for that matter, during any other period in American history.

The following year, Hoover denoted in a public speech those citizens he considered fit subjects for investigation. Besides the "destructive traitorous force" of 55,000 Communist Party members "with allegiance to Moscow," he declared there were "a half-million fellow travelers and sympathizers ready to do the communist bidding . . . hypocrites and moral swindlers . . . in politics, in labor, in the press, in radio, in motion pictures, in the schools, even in some of our churches."

The FBI, however, was unable to disclose a single overt act by any members of this "Communist army" directed toward the violent overthrow of the government, or of any subversive character. But with laws like the Smith, Taft-Hartley, and McCarran Acts on the books, successful Federal prosecutions of Communist leaders, militant trade unionists and stubborn liberals were effected with comparative ease on the basis of FBI "evidence" and the perjurious testimony of its informers.

IN A BOOK as uniformly dishonest as Whitehead's, it is difficult to single out any section as being the worst. Perhaps that distinction belongs to his chapter on the Rosenberg case. Describing Julius and Ethel Rosenberg as "atomic spies" and "agents of a foreign power" who were trapped by the FBI, Whitehead omits such refutation as the assertion of physicist Dr. Harold Urey that the Rosenbergs could not have committed the alleged crime for which they were executed.

He fails to mention that Harry Gold, one of the two government witnesses whose testimony convicted the Rosenbergs, had a long record as a psychopathic liar; and that the other witness, David Greenglass, had, according to his own wife, "a tendency toward hysteria" and "would say things were so even if they were not."

[Whitehead attempts to keep alive the story Hoover told in **Readers Digest** in May, 1951, that information obtained from Klaus Fuchs led the FBI to Harry Gold and that Fuchs later identified Gold as his U.S. contact. Both William A. Reuben in **The Atom Spy Hoax** and John Wexley in **The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg** documented the contrary fact that the FBI already had Gold in custody for other reasons before they had an opportunity to talk to Fuchs. **The FBI Story** says that Fuchs sought out The Stranger in "early 1944" immediately after his arrival in New York. Fuchs allegedly identified himself by strolling through Manhattan's Lower East Side in the dead of winter with a tennis ball in one hand. He knew The Stranger "by the gloves in his hand and the book with the green binding. He was middle-aged, perhaps five feet ten inches tall and solidly built." (Compare this identification device, by the way, with that reported in memoranda the FBI says it found in the studio of the latest alleged spy, "Colonel" Rudolf Abel. The "contact" still carries a book, but this time the binding is red.)

HARRY GOLD
It was more than a matter of size

[Wexley points out in his absorbing chapter on Fuchs that Gold is actually 5-foot-6, slight and the same age as Fuchs, which would have been about 34 when they supposedly met for the first time. Wexley remarks: "It would seem logical if Fuchs had really met with Gold on so many occasions and so recently (only five years earlier) that he should remember someone of his own age . . . and that he would remember Gold was two inches shorter than himself, not taller." As to the final identification from movie footage sent to England by the FBI, Wexley points out that the FBI had already announced Gold's arrest "based on information supplied by Dr. Fuchs" two days before Fuch's alleged "positive" identification.

[Since the Rosenberg case, Gold has been shown to be a psychopathic liar whose testimony was rejected by a Federal jury in Dayton, O., and refuted by the Eastman-Kodak Co. on another occasion when he was brought out of jail to testify before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee.—Ed.]

WHITEHEAD STATES that Morton Sobell was "expelled" from Mexico, although it has been shown Sobell was kidnaped without the knowledge of Mexican authorities. He characterizes the world-wide crusade to save the Rosenbergs' lives, which included such eminent figures as Pope Pius XII, as a "shameful campaign" masterminded by the Communists. (Whitehead credits the FBI with the brilliant feat of having "detected" the genesis of this campaign "when the left-wing NATIONAL GUARDIAN . . . began a series of articles on the Rosenberg case.")

Repeatedly, throughout **The FBI Story**, Whitehead defends the FBI's use of secret paid informers, to whom, employing Hoover's phraseology, he always genteelly refers as "confidential informants." He quotes Hoover: "The confidential informant is as old as man and is used in practically every walk of life . . . as a means of establishing truth."

Whenever an informer's "reliability" becomes "questionable," he writes, the individual is "dropped by the FBI," and "interested agencies notified." There seems, however, to be some laxity in this policy, considering the host of FBI informers who have lately been exposed as liars.

NOT THE LEAST OF THESE was Harvey Matusow, now serving a five-year prison term not for the perjuries he recanted but for the offense of having admitted them. When another recanting informer, David Brown, was asked if he had lied in charges he had made against scores of individuals in his FBI reports, he replied: "That's what I was paid to do by the FBI."

Hoover grimly resisted the Supreme Court's recent ruling in the Jencks case that reports of FBI informers must be made available to those defendants against whom they testify as government witnesses. He was most active in jamming through Congress legislation designed to nullify the Jencks decision.

Hoover's rule of the FBI is now in its fourth decade. "Throughout the years," writes Whitehead, "the FBI was shaped in this man's ideas and ideals. No other federal agency bears the imprint of a single personality as clearly. . . . Hoover is the FBI."

A picture of Hoover's "imprint" on the FBI was given by Ray Tucker in Collier's magazine in 1933: "Under him the Bureau was run in Prussian style; it became a personal and political machine. More inaccessible than Presidents, he kept his agents in fear and awe. . . . He was a law and czar unto himself."

Tucker said Hoover's agents frequently had "under surveillance such dignitaries as prospective Cabinet members, government officials, publishers, newspaper reporters, clerics, college professors, liberals, . . . alleged communists, labor leaders—and some criminals." Hoover, said Tucker, had made the FBI into "a miniature American Cheka."

TODAY IT WOULD be more accurate to speak of the Cheka, the Czarist secret police, as having been a miniature FBI. The official staff of the FBI now numbers 14,000 members. It has 52 field divisions and 1,200 "resident agents" in "strategic centers" throughout the country. Its "Identification Division," according to the latest count, has 141,231,773 fingerprints on file. Hardly consoling, no matter how true, is Hoover's assertion in his foreword to **The FBI Story**: "Our agents are always as close to you, the reader, as your telephone."

Some years ago the St. Louis **Post Dispatch** made this proposal: "The Congress should brush aside old arguments that police activities should necessarily be kept secret and turn an investigative searchlight on the FBI and its publicity-mad chief."

Perhaps even more apt today is an admonition made by Rep. J. Swager Sherley of Kentucky in 1909 shortly after the founding of the Bureau of Investigation (by Atty. Gen. Charles Joseph Bonaparte, a grand-nephew of Napoleon I). "In my reading of history," Rep. Sherley said, "I recall no instance where a government perished because of the absence of a secret-police force, but many there are that perished as a result of a spy system." Sherley recommended the complete dissolution of the Bureau. That might be the best suggestion of all.

**THE FBI STORY, A report to the people, by Don Whitehead. Foreword by J. Edgar Hoover. 357 pp. indexed. Random House. $4.95.*

Trained to kill

Omaha, Neb., July 20 (UP)—Authorities here made plans today to ship back to its owner an escaped dog trained to attack Oriental persons without warning.

The German shepherd dog was found yesterday in the home of a couple who kept it as a household pet when it made friends with them two weeks ago.

Police issued a general alarm for the dog, Brownie, when its soldier handler, Sergeant First Class Ted Wittek of Spooner, Wis., telegraphed that the dog had chewed its way out of a crate in Omaha.

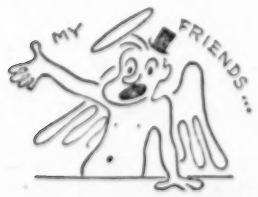
Brownie, a veteran of five years' service in Korea, was "trained to kill Oriental persons without command," Wittek said.

—San Francisco **Chronicle**, 7/21

HARVEY MATUSOW
They made the truth a lie

Save The Date For

Guardian's Ninth Anniversary Dinner



Thurs., Nov. 21 in New York

Three new appeals filed in Sobell case

THREE NEW APPEALS to the U.S. Supreme Court by Morton Sobell were scheduled to be filed by Sept. 10

One motion is based on a recent Supreme Court decision and would set aside the Rosenberg-Sobell conviction as unfair. It cites the Court's decision ordering a new trial in the Grunewald-Halperin tax case because the prosecution had prejudiced the trial by discrediting a defendant for having taken the 5th Amendment before a Grand Jury

The same situation prevailed in the Rosenberg-Sobell trial. The prosecution and judge discredited Ethel Rosenberg for having invoked the 5th Amendment. A favorable Court opinion on this ground could mean a new trial for Morton Sobell.

The other two motions ask the Court for a hearing on charges of fraud by the prosecution and Sobell's illegal seizure by the FBI.

Amicus (Friend of the Court) briefs, signed by thousands of Americans, are to be submitted later this month. The Sobell Committee urges all who have not already done so to send their signatures at once to the Sobell Committee, 940 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y.

THIS IS THE MAIN REASON WHY THERE ARE SO FEW JEWS IN POLAND NOW
A Gestapo raid on the Warsaw Ghetto—prelude to death in the gas chamber

TO STAY OR GO?

Poland's Jews: The fear of anti-Semitism

By Ursula Wassermann

Special to the Guardian

WARSAW

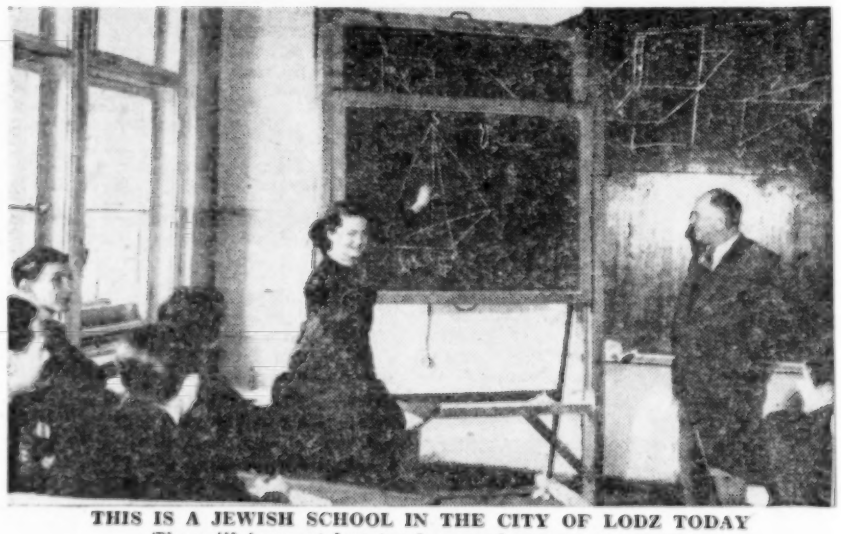
LIKE SUCH SOCIAL PHENOMENA as juvenile delinquency, prostitution and other problems, anti-Semitism, according to Marxist concepts, was supposed to disappear with the establishment of a socialist society. But anti-Semitism has been a problem in some of the socialist countries since their inception; the theoretical fiction that it could not persist under socialism failed to banish it.

This is important for an understanding of the discussion on anti-Semitism which has been going on in Poland both before October and since. The question was not, as is commonly believed in the West, first raised here by the **Folkshtimme**, Poland's Yiddish-language paper, and incidentally, the only Yiddish daily in the Eastern world which survived throughout the Stalin era. Anti-Semitism was first discussed and attacked by prominent non-Jewish papers. It was the **Folkshtimme** which started the controversy regarding the status of Jews in the Soviet Union, but the problem as it concerned Poland had been broached much earlier by Polish rather than Jewish journalists.

NOT INHERENT: Anti-Semitism grew during the last years of the Stalin regime, but Stalinism and anti-Semitism cannot be equated. Stalin did not invent anti-Semitism: That it was not eliminated during the forty years of the Soviet Union's existence, and the twelve years since the establishment of the People's Democracies, is saddening to every socialist. But even its use, during the last period of Stalin's life, as a weapon of policy, does not imply that socialism as such is tainted with anti-Semitism or that it can never hope to cope with this stubborn heritage of the past. Legislation here, outlawing anti-Semitism and making it a punishable offense, remained on paper. It was rarely enforced, largely because those who were subject to insult and assault were too terrified to bring action.

It is to the honor of the Poles themselves that they brought the matter to the attention of their own people and the world. That it existed since long before 1945 is beyond doubt; that it was frankly and honestly discussed was something new.

It was discussed throughout 1956 and



THIS IS A JEWISH SCHOOL IN THE CITY OF LODZ TODAY
The will is great but teachers and money are short

examples of children segregated in school, of adults assaulted, of officials discriminated against in matters of employment were aired publicly. The fight against anti-Semitism became one of the main planks of the October movement, and the liberalism, which generally began to prevail, was also felt in this sphere.

FEWER INCIDENTS: Since March anti-Semitic incidents have become less frequent. They still occur from time to time but are no longer hidden in the press or elsewhere. The Government and the Party are today more active than ever before in fighting the disease. The Jewish community finds a sympathetic ear in official circles and emigration to Israel has been greatly facilitated. This is not a socialist solution, but it is better and more humane to let people leave, if they feel unhappy or insecure, than to retain them here by force.

Poland's Jewish community now is faced with a problem of major magnitude caused by large-scale emigration to Israel, under the scheme of re-uniting families, and by the influx of Jews from the Soviet Union, under the scheme of repatriating Polish citizens from the U.S.S.R.

Approximately one-third of Poland's resident Jewish community has by now left for Israel. The social composition of this emigration will leave Poland poorer and make Israel richer in human material. Their cultural and educational level is high, and many are skilled workers, artisans and technicians, with a fair sprinkling of professionals and intellectuals.

THE REPATRIATES: The Jewish repatriates from the Soviet Union present an entirely different problem: Their social and economic status as well as their educational level is below that of Jews who have been resident in Poland since 1945 and who have either participated in Polish cultural, political and economic activities or retained their Jewish cultural heritage, thanks to Jewish schools, Jewish newspapers, and such famous institutions as the Jewish Historical Institute, under the directorate of Professor Ber Mark, and the Jewish theatre under Ida Kaminska. The Jewish repatriates from the Soviet Union, according to Henryk Smolar, editor of the **Folkshtimme**, of whom some 2,000 are by now in the country—with about 25,000 more expected in the course of the coming 18 months—have lost all touch not only with Jewish culture but with Polish culture as well, without having absorbed any Russian culture to take its place.

These people are displaced persons in every sense of the term—economically, socially and culturally. Their standard of living is lower than that of Poles—Jews and non-Jews alike—and the majority of them have neither trade nor skill.

Many had been taken to the Soviet Union before they had had time to acquire a trade or profession; others—and all this applies to Polish repatriates as much as to Jews—lost any skills they may have had by wasting years, if not decades, in camps. There are some happy exceptions, such as an actress I met who played for years in Moscow's Jewish theatre until it was closed down, and who has now joined Ida Kaminska's group here in Warsaw. Finding employment for the repatriates is the first and most pressing job which faces the Jewish community.

HOUSING PROBLEM: A second difficulty is housing, which is still in short supply. Camps, as existed in Israel, are not feasible in this climate, and at first several families were crowded into one tiny room. Recently there has been some improvement in the housing situation, through an agreement with the government by which apartments of emigrants to Israel—as well as repatriates to Germany, of whom there are today tens of thousands—are automatically allocated to repatriates, both Jews and non-Jews.

Education presents a third problem. Children of repatriates, as a rule, know neither Polish nor enough Yiddish to enable them to enter Jewish schools. Their only language is Russian. Parents often are reluctant to send their children to Polish schools, so that the seven Jewish elementary schools, which exist today in Poland, will most likely be asked to absorb the majority of this influx. One great handicap is the shortage of teachers: many Jewish teachers have left for Israel; the remainder can hardly hope to satisfy the demands now made upon them, especially since children of repatriates will, for a year or two at least, require training which differs from that of resident pupils, since both their language qualifications and their educational standard is below that of their fellow-students here.

All this requires time, patience and money. The Jewish community here is so short of funds that it could not carry out its project of opening a summer camp for children of Jewish repatriates. Moreover, money is needed for new schools, new cultural activities, as well as for the support of the old and the sick. Cardinal Wyszynski recently received $1,000,000 from Americans of Polish-Catholic descent, to be used for cultural and philanthropic purposes. The Jewish community here has so far sought in vain for help from American Jews of Polish descent. It would appear that here is a field where the Landsmannschaften could be of immense help, as well as other Jewish organizations in the United States.

It's beautiful---what is it?

Special to the Guardian

MOSCOW

THE FERMENT OF DISCUSSION among Muscovites and between them and their guests at the recent Youth Festival was nowhere more fascinating to observe than at the Festival fine arts show. Here the painting styles of Mexico and Syria, of Cyprus and Haiti and Madagascar, of France and Italy and Korea and the U.S.S.R. and dozens more, challenged one another side by side.

The three huge galleries were jammed all day with thousands of people, of whom the majority were types never seen in a Western art gallery. The collection, hastily assembled with little coordination, was of very uneven quality; but the variety and contrast were more than rich enough to set off a mighty battle of public opinion.

Wherever an impressionist or abstract work hung, a knot of people gathered and you heard: "He is laughing at people," "On Mars you might see that but not on this planet," "I don't understand it," "It gives me no pleasure." A German abstract painter is cornered by factory workers and kerchiefed women who demand to know: "What the devil are you trying to express with that black blob?" A small mob forms around a Soviet intellectual seeking to pacify a scarlet-faced girl who is almost shouting: "We are a progressive people and these are reactionary paintings!"

The people listen intently as the intellectual explains: In art there is and should be a struggle between styles. Personally I prefer Rubens but one should not condemn what one doesn't understand, but consider that it may be beautiful." A handsome student from Baku flushes angrily before a French study of a pair of nudes exhausted from love-making. "What is this but hooliganism—we don't have such painters," he cries and turns his back. Then he quietly joins a dense circle around a Frenchman explaining his country's art.

Little Rock story

(Continued from Page 1)

a visiting judge from North Dakota, to set aside the Chancery injunction.

THE JUDGE RULES: After 90 minutes of argument Judge Davies said:

"In a situation of this kind the court will not hesitate or equivocate. A temporary order will be issued enjoining [anyone] from using the order of the Chancery Court. The injunction will prohibit them from any further actions in the court. The Board of Education is now proceeding with its original plans to desegregate the high schools."

As Judge Davies was making his ruling Gov. Faubus, as chairman of the State Sovereignty Commission, was considering advice on how to handle the situation. The Commission was set up at the last session of the legislature to fight integregation and the NAACP. On the night of Sept. 2 Gov. Faubus appeared on a state-wide TV program and announced that caravans of segregationists were converging on Little Rock in protest against the school board's plan. Some were already entering the city, he said, and he was calling out the National Guard to prevent violence.

THE GUARD IS CALLED: He said: "This is a decision that I have reached prayerfully, after conferences with dozens of people. The mission of the state militia is to maintain order. . . . The inevitable conclusion is that the schools must be operated as they have in the past. . . . The public peace will be preserved. . . . This is a situation not of my making. The plan for integration has been set up by the Little Rock school board and the superintendent . . ."

A Board of Education broadcast that same night requested that "no Negro students . . . attempt to attend Central or any other white school until this dilemma is legally solved."

Arriving at the school on the morning of Sept. 3 Central's 1,900 students were confronted by 270 helmetted National Guardsmen armed with bayonetted rifles and clubs. The board appealed to Judge Davies. He said he would take at face value the governor's promise that the troops would "not act as segregationists or integrationists." He directed the board to put its integration plan into effect at once.

On the morning of Sept. 4 a mob of 400—mostly adults—gathered outside the school. Suddenly they took up a shout: "The niggers—they're coming!" Little Elizabeth Eckford approached the school somewhat ahead of eight other Negro girls and boys. Bravely she walked up to the school entrance. A guardsman blocked the way. The crowd jeered.

Gov. Faubus complained to President Eisenhower of "unwarranted interference" by Federal agents. Little Rock Mayor Woodrow Wilson Mann accused the governor of creating tension where none had existed.

On Sept 5 the President replied to Faubus that he had taken an "oath to support and defend the Constitution by every legal means at my command." The Board of Education petitioned Judge Davies to order integration delayed until "calmness can be restored."

AN "ANEMIC" PETITION: On Sept. 6 Gov. Faubus pledged the President cooperation "in upholding the constitutions of Arkansas and the nation." On Sept. 7 Judge Davies rejected the board's request for delay. He ruled that the integration plan approved by the court on Aug. 15, 1956, "was originated and conceived by the citizens of Little Rock acting by and through their own school directors . . . [and] was approved by this court and by the Court of Appeals. . . ." Besides, he added, testimony and arguments supporting the petition were "as anemic as the petition itself." That ruling left the next move up to Gov. Faubus either to withdraw the troops and lose face with fellow segregationists or to keep them there and force the President's hand. On Sept. 7, also, the President interrupted his vacation to confer with Atty. Gen. Brownell in Washington. Press secy. Hagerty said: "There was a general discussion of the National Guard and the authority the President has" with respect to it.

JUDGE RONALD DAVIES
The law says: Integrate

On the night of Sept. 8, the Governor, in a television interview, said that the U.S. would have to recede from its demand. He said he would not back down. The next day the National Guard was at the school again, and no Negro students attempted to enter. In North Little Rock, however, six Negro boys eligible for the senior class tried to enter the white high school. A mob forced them away.

WHAT NEXT? It seemed clear that the next move was up to the Federal government. On Sept. 9 Judge Davies asked the Justice Dept. to seek an injunction against Gov. Faubus. If he obeyed it and ceased his defiance, the situation would be resolved. If he defied the injunction the Administration could federalize the National Guard, thus removing it from state jurisdiction; it could dispatch regular troops to enforce the court order. The Governor, himself, could be prosecuted for contempt of court.

BELFRAGE IN PEKING

People, not diplomats, make peace, Chou tells Yanks

By Cedric Belfrage

PEKING (By cable)

FORTY-ONE YOUNG AMERICANS risking threat of subpenas for coming to China were told Saturday by Chinese Premier Chou En-lai: "You are paving the way to friendship between China and the U.S." When their leader Rev. Warren McKenna of Mass. reminded the students that there should be no question-hogging but "equal opportunities for all" Chou immediately said that slogan should be the basis on which friendship must be built.

The U.S. State Dept. had finally consented to 20 American newsmen's coming to China but, Chou said, "by specifying their duties, reaffirming hostilities and refusing reciprocal treatment to our newsmen, it had put an end to the matter." Regarding Taiwan, which is "entirely an internal affair of the Chinese people," he asked how Americans would feel if a foreign occupier of Hawaii demanded conditions from the U.S. concerning its liberation. Economic relationships must also be on a reciprocal basis, Chou said, as reaffirmed by the 29 nations that met at Bandung.

U.S. CONTRADICTIONS: Asked why he thought the American government was unrepresentative of the people, the Premier replied: "It would be more appropriate if you, yourself, answered questions regarding contradictions in America." Pressed for an answer, Chou added: "The American people want peace. The American government says it also wants peace, but won't recognize China. China wants peace and wants normal diplomatic relations with America. Don't you see the contradiction there?"

Their visit to China, Chou told them, "couldn't possibly be against America's interests. You must feel similarly since you came—you are all honest citizens, I'm sure. Isn't there another contradiction here?" He dismissed reports of conflicts in the Chinese government over its policy of "let a hundred flowers bloom" as a rumor designed to cause discord but fated to failure.

UN'S LOSS: Queried about UN recognition of "Communist China," Chou called exclusion the UN's loss and said that "new China will continue to exist in or out" of the UN. He gently reminded the questioner that the correct name was the People's Republic of China—it would not be correct to call America Eisenhower's or Republican America. He declared that American reports of millions executed in China and atrocities in Tibet were entirely untrue, adding: "In the first days of the revolution it was quite natural for counter-revolutionaries to be suppressed —this also happened in America."

Pointing to the increasing contacts between the Chinese and the Japanese peoples without recognition on the governmental level, Chou said that contacts between the people of China and the U.S. need not await diplomatic recognition. Neither the issue of the jailed Chinese and the curtained students in America, nor the issue of Americans jailed under Chinese law should be used as an obstacle or a precondition to improvement of Sino-American relationships.

THE PRISONERS: Before the interview, ten Americans chosen by the delegation visited John Downey of Conn. and Richard Fecteau of Mass. in the Peking jail. Downey was sentenced to life imprisonment and Fecteau to 20 years in 1954 after conviction with nine Chinese for crossing the border "to conduct espionage activities." The published trial report said all had admitted all the charges including the dropping of supplies from a plane in 1952 in Kirin province by Downey to Chinese agents recruited at the American Central Intelligence Agency headquarters in Japan. Shot down in Nov., 1952, the plane was said to have carried Downey and Fecteau as well as weapons, radios, maps, gold, forged identity papers and apparatus to be picked up by agents.

The visitors reported that Downey and Fecteau looked healthy and well-fed and that they wanted their families to know this. The prisoners have been taken out sightseeing in Peking and for a six-week tour of China. Downey reads Marxist books as well as American magazines in jail. He was "deeply impressed" by his tour and was convinced that socialism was desirable for China and India and "perhaps the rest of the world." The American prisoners, after long solitary confinement, now occupy separate 12-by-15 foot cells, each with an English-speaking Chinese cellmate. The Chinese authorities asked the visitors not to discuss their trials with the prisoners.

BLOCK THAT KICK: The Americans have attended tea parties given by Yale graduate and Peking University President Ma Yin-chu and beach parties with young people from Dairen. They have rock-and-rolled with the Egyptian basketball team, played volleyball with the auto workers, interviewed Tientsin textile industrialist and national People's Congressman Keats S. Chou. Learning that two of the visitors were Wisconsin University students, People's Capitalist Chou (Wisconsin '19) led the rousing chorus of "On Wisconsin" and sent a note by them to a professor who was on the debating team with him.

Outside the foreign office, after interviewing Chou En-lai, all joined in singing "Study War No More," led by banjoist Peggy Seeger and guitarist Guy Carawan, on whose instruments Premier Chou carved his initials and wrote: "Long Live the Friendship of the American and the Chinese Peoples." The Americans, now floating down the Yangtze River en route to Shanghai, have merged their political differences in that spirit.

AS THE SCHOOLS OPENED

Elsewhere in the South

This is what happened elsewhere in key areas of the South in the battle of integration:

NASHVILLE, TENN.—A Federal Court ruled unconstitutional Tennessee's "voluntary" integration law and ordered Negro children be admitted to the first grade in five of Nashville's hitherto white schools. At a rally on the eve of school opening segregationist agitator John Kasper called for violence. The Tennessee White Citizens' Council threatened mass picketing. During the night of Sept. 9 a dynamite blast reduced to rubble a grade school attended during the day by a single Negro girl. Only 16 Negro children had entered first grade classes throughout Nashville.

ARLINGTON, VA.—Nine Negro students tried to register at white schools but were turned away under Virginia's Pupil Placement Act. That law directs assignment boards to place pupils at its discretion; however, if the board placed a Negro child in a white school that school would be cut off from state funds. A Federal court has declared the Placement Act unconstitutional, but it is being enforced pending the state's appeal to the Supreme Court.

CHARLOTTE, N.C.—Five white teenagers were arrested on the night of Sept. 5 after a figure representing a Negro girl was hung from the flagpole at the high school. A Negro girl, Dorothy Counts, 15, was spat on, jeered at and jostled when she left the Harding High School the day before. She did not return the second day because she was ill. Three Negro students at other schools attended classes without incident.

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C. — Gwendolyn Bailey, 15, entered Reynolds High School through a pedestrian tunnel at the rear of the building to avoid a crowd of 500 whites at the front. White students scrubbed out a sign on the sidewalk in front of the school reading, "Go home, nigger." Miss Bailey was not molested as she attended an orientation lecture in the auditorium and visited classrooms.

DALLAS, TEX.—Federal Judge William Atwell ordered school integration to begin just after the Christmas holidays. Twice before he had turned down suits by Negro parents, only to be overruled by the Court of Appeals in New Orleans. He said it was "difficult" for him to approve the order but that he had no choice.

STURGIS, KY. — Eighteen Negro students attended high school classes on Sept. 5, third day of the fall term. Sturgis is the mining-farming town of 3,000 where last year the militia was called out to quell anti-Negro mobs. Last week a single egg thrown was the only act of violence. State troopers were on hand to keep crowds moving.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.—Rev. F. L. Shuttleworth, attempting to enter his 12-year old daughter and other Negro children in an all-white high school, was set upon by men with chain lengths and brass knuckles and beaten to the ground several times. The daughter Ruby's ankle was crushed by a car door. Three white men were arrested for assault with intent to murder.

Stern statement

(Continued from Page 1)

of his investment in the enterprise.

The Sterns' contention that they have not seen Morros since 1945 places their association with him before his career as a counter-spy. Morros in a statement to the press on one occasion said that he became a counter-spy in 1945; on a television program he changed the date to 1947.

The Sterns said that Morros introduced them to Jack Soble who has confessed to a conspiracy to transmit data to the Soviet Union, but, they added, they knew him only casually.

[Meanwhile two others accused by Morros as spies, Dr. and Mrs. Henry Spitz, said they planned to sue him for libel. Both are Austrian citizens living in Vienna. Dr. Spitz said: "I never have known Boris Morros, and his accusations are infamous lies."]

WHY THEY WON'T RETURN: The Sterns claimed that if they returned to the U.S. to answer the charges against them the prevailing hysteria would make a fair hearing impossible. They said they had to acquire Paraguayan citizenship in order to live and travel without fear of harassment by the U.S. government. Relating their case to the course of the cold war and the suppression of civil liberties in the U.S., they said they were issuing their statement to the American people to show "how far toward war and reaction Americans can be pushed."

Excerpts of the Sterns' statement follow:

ACCUSATIONS BY BORIS MORROS that we are or were Soviet agents are fantastic inventions, part and parcel of his lurid career.

Character assassination by publicity is one of the vicious techniques Morros and agencies of the U.S. government and committees of Congress are employing to try to destroy or silence those people who dare dissent. Because we refused to appear before an inquisition of the New York Grand Jury, which sent what our lawyers and we consider an illegal subpena to us in Mexico, we have been subjected to well-piloted campaign of vilification and slander. We authorized our lawyers to take this case to the New York Court of Appeals and if necessary to the Supreme Court.

The use of Morros by the Attorney General's office and the FBI is typical of the whole shameful history of that latter organization; its illegal methods, its brazen defiance of the U.S. Constitution and the rights of American citizens; its falsification and fabrication of evidence; its intimidation and blackmail of American progressives and its use of stool pigeons and informers. Boris Morros is only the latest in an overcrowded stable and he too will be discarded as so many of his stablemates before him, including Harvey Matusow, have been. Let the FBI remember the number of dogs who have bitten the hands that fed them!

MARTHA AND ALFRED STERN
They, indict the FBI

Our progressive background is well-known, open for everyone's review. It has been recently covered in fullest detail by the press. We are proud of what we have stood for in the past and what we stand for now. We have fought against fascism and reaction for almost 25 years and have tried to help build a progressive America.

FOR THESE BELIEFS and activities we and all other progressives have been hounded and persecuted for years. We have been called names, listed as subversives, followed by the FBI, had our passports taken away, our telephones tapped and our mail interfered with. William E. Dodd Jr. [Mrs. Stern's brother] was honored very early by being called by a Congressional committee as a "premature anti-fascist," thrown out of a government job, placed on a blacklist and forced into unemployment, frustration and an early death.

When we emigrated to Mexico in 1953, the FBI and the State Department, using Mexican secret police, followed us, again tapped our phones and put pressure on departments of the Mexican government to withhold our status for the first six months as foreign residents. Despite all of this we managed for a few years to live an interesting and constructive life among the proud and gentle people of Mexico who so passionately cherish their national sovereignty.

We applied for passports in 1950 in the U.S. and again in 1956 in Mexico and were refused, contrary to recent distortions of facts by the State Department. In the last months, certain officials in the Mexican government openly admitted that the U.S. State Department and the FBI in Mexico had urged them to remove us from the country, a blatant example of U.S. interference in affairs of a foreign country. Though Mexico is an economically dependent nation, it tries to resist U.S. domination, but their officials in recent years have yielded to pressure from the U.S.A. to deport illegally or allow to be kidnaped progressives of different nationalities, including North Americans. Contrary to lies that have been reported, we have never been on "the point of extradition"; we have never been indicted. In fact, we have never been accused of or charged with anything by the Grand Jury or by a court, only by Boris Morros.

WE REALIZED after this last six months of harassment that we were again in "protective custody" of the United States in Mexico. We had had enough! We also had wanted for a long time to visit Europe and other places which we had not visited for 20 years. A Mexican travel permit would not have given us protection from U.S. interference while traveling. Therefore, some time ago, we arranged legally to become Paraguayan citizens and were issued passports. To those who want to know why we didn't return to the U.S.A. to answer a subpena, we believe we have clearly shown how little chance a progressive has to get a fair hearing in this national atmosphere of hysteria.

We cannot attempt to answer all the lies and distortions that have appeared against us and will probably continue to appear. We met Boris Morros in Hollywood in 1943 when we were working on a movie based on two Dodd books. Morros was a producer in the same studio. Stern, who had been an investor in many small businesses over the years, later invested some money in a music company owned by Morros. It was a dismal failure due to Morros' incompetence and a gross exaggeration of his capacities. It was no secret among our friends and acquaintances that we grew to dislike him thoroughly.

He has nourished his feeling of revenge toward us over the years because our lawyer forced him to return most of Stern's investment. We have not seen him since 1945, but in the period we knew him he introduced us to many people. Among them was Jack Soble, whom we saw casually for a short period of time as we saw, entertained and were entertained by hundreds of others in a lifetime of contacts in diplomacy, business, politics and the arts.

THE AGGRESSIVE and illegal action of the FBI in our case was obviously an attempt, among innumerable other efforts, to rehabilitate itself by putting pressure on Congress to push through the just-enacted legislation to circumvent the Supreme Court decisions against the FBI. We have been chosen for their purposes because we are people of standing, with honorable reputations and long progressive records, and therefore could easily "make the press." We are being used as a threat to other progressives of distinguished or modest backgrounds that they must either shut up or be slandered or ruined.

The American people, like people everywhere, want peace and security, a way to find friendship and truth.

We have written this statement not only to defend ourselves but also for them, hoping that in our small way we can throw some light on this phase of their deception. Americans are awakening to the perils ahead and are beginning to organize their protest, discovering means to make their great strength felt. They will halt the insane drive toward war.

Sterns indicted

THREE DAYS after Martha and Alfred Stern isued their statement in Prague the Federal Grand Jury in New York which had subpenaed them months ago as witnesses, indicted them for espionage.

U.S. Attorney Paul Williams revealed that the indictment had been returned last July 1 when the government was seking the Sterns' return from Mexico ostensibly as witnesses only. At the time the Sterns' lawyers insisted that the government spell out the reasons for summoning the Sterns.

The indictment was opened last week, Williams said, because the hope of bringing the Sterns back to the U.S. "seems to have finished."

The three-count indictment, which could lead to the death penalty, charges that Boris Morros, music business, in which Alfred Stern invested $130,000, was meant as a front for spies and that the Sterns conferred with Russian agents.

The indictment, based largely on Morros' testimony, claims that Morros disbanded the music company because Stern had objected to the title of the song "Chattanooga Choo-choo" which the company published.

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BATTLE OF THE (WAISTLINE) BULGE

The election in W. Germany: Economic boom key factor

By Kumar Goshal

ON THE EVE of the Sept. 15 general elections in W. Germany, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union and Erich Ollenhauer's Social Democratic Party seemed to be fighting an unequal battle for control of Bonn's third parliament. With the electorate largely apathetic and bemused by a feverish prosperity, the scales seemed to be heavily weighted in favor of the octogenerian Chancellor.

In his campaign speeches, Adenauer has been playing up the Communist bogey, U.S. support for his candidacy and W. Germany's remarkable economic recovery—although the ordinary German has benefited little from the boom.

NAME DROPPER: Adenauer has tried to frighten his audiences by saying that a Social Democratic victory would bankrupt the country and make it an easy prey to Soviet attack. In the manner of a small-time politician hinting at big-time connections, he has spiced his speeches, as the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** reported, "with 'confidential' references to 'my recent conversation with President Eisenhower,' or 'something I heard privately from the French Foreign Minister'." He has made "every man in the audience feel that he was a member of the big team in the West and a personal partner of the U.S." (N.Y. **Times**, 9/1).

Adenauer has boasted not only of W. Germany's booming economy but also of the alleged vast benefits enjoyed by the ordinary German under his tutelage. In Bremen, a Social Democrat in the audience, astonished by his fantastic statistics on improved living conditions, tried to heckle him and was immediately seized by the ushers. The **Times** said that

KONRAD ADENAUER
Ike likes me

"hecklers are not popular with the [Chancellor's] single-minded audiences and the muscular young men who serve as ushers in the halls."

Besides political and diplomatic support from abroad, Adenauer has had enormous financial backing by big business. Of the estimated minimum of $12,500,000 spent by all parties in the election campaign, members of Adenauer's coalition government spent over $10,000,000, the Christian Democrats alone spending over $8,000,000. The Social Democrats spent about $1,000,000, contributed by its dues-paying members.

WRAPPED IN FLAG: The Social Democrats, handicapped by a colorless, if sincere, leader, warned against both U.S. and Soviet interference in Germany's affairs and denounced the West-sponsored Berlin Declaration, which called for German reunification only on Western terms. Ollenhauer accused Adenauer of running his government as if it were a foreign branch of the U.S. State Department.

While Adenauer insisted that Germany could be unified only by pressure from NATO — strengthened by W. German forces — Ollenhauer plugged for a reunited Germany as part of a comprehensive European security system. The Social Democrat warned the voters that Adenauer's victory would bring "permanent one-party rule, price increases and inflation, final partition of our Fatherland, atom bombs and atomic death." But his warnings seemed to bounce off the figure of the 81-year-old Chancellor, draped in the U.S. flag.

From Berlin on election eve GUARDIAN correspondent Ursula Wassermann sent the following dispatch:

THE SEPTEMBER ELECTIONS favor the regime in power: those who can take their vacation at any time, who can exert themselves throughout the summer in the secure knowledge that Switzerland or the Cote d'Azur await them for their well-earned rest in September. In this sense, W. Germany's 1957 election campaign is a rich man's campaign.

But it is a rich man's campaign in more senses than one. The slogans of the Social Democrats are: "No compulsory military service," "Reunification without force in the near future." These slogans will appeal to many; but it is doubtful that the SDP will even gain enough votes to form a coalition government with the smaller parties in Bonn, as it has a chance of doing in Hamburg.

Adenauer's strength lies primarily in the continuing economic boom which makes the Federal Republic appear like Fairyland. There exists an atmosphere of conspicuous waste reminiscent of the U.S. in the '20's. Shops are full to overflowing; the most expensive restaurants make their customers wait for tables; the display of summer-minks and diamonds can be matched only at Cannes or Palm Beach.

HOLLYWOOD TOUCH: There is a **nouveaux-riche** type of boastfulness in this display that has many Germans worried, not only because it reminds them of the frenzied era preceding the depression but also because, as many told me, a nation's entire energy appears concentrated on amassing the vastest possible wealth in the shortest possible time to the detriment of cultural and political values.

The editor of one of the largest—and conservative—newspapers told me: "What we have today under Adenauer is a mixture of Hindenburg and Hitler with a super-imposed structure of Hollywood prosperity. The regime is extremely authoritarian, not only because the men in power wish it to be so, but because the people have abdicated all responsibility without ever learning how to use it."

A story making the rounds in Germany illustrated this editor's view: An old lady was given an audience by Adenauer in honor of her 100th birthday. Returning to her small home town and much impressed by her reception in Bonn, she told her cronies all about it, then added: "But how old our Adolph has grown!"

This lack of civic responsibility makes the present campaign dreary as well as dangerous. Many W. Germans realize the urgent need for reunification and for a changed attitude towards E. Europe for Germany's long-term economic wellbeing. But, blinded by the glow of the economic miracle they will almost certainly vote back into power the octogenerian who has for a decade blocked German unity leading to a durable peace.

An SDP slogan on a speedway reads: "Drive carefully—lest Adenauer survive you!"

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